1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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of immigrants from neighbouring tribes have been adopted by a clan and subjected to the general rule of clan exogamy, i.e. the territorial bond has taken the place of the belief in a common descent, or rather local groups have in some cases become identified with kinship groups. In this respect the Katab present a contrast to their neighbours, the Morwa and Kagoro, among whom there is no bar to intermarriage between the aboriginal inhabitants and immigrant members of other tribes.

The territorial grouping of the Katab clans corresponds generally, but not absolutely, with the clan grouping. For though the Minyam and Aku clans each occupy in the main their own territory, the Agbat clan is split in two, the Kwak sub-section being separated from the Nje and Kpaisa sub-sections by the intervening clan of Minyam. But, according to tradition, the local grouping in former times coincided with the social. The small clan of Shokwa lives mixed up with the Kwak sub-section of the Agbat clan. Moreover, families or individuals of one clan may be found living in villages of another clan, and where this happens the usual rules of clan exogamy apply.

It is not uncommon, for example, for a man to take up residence in his mother's village, and in such a case he would be eligible to marry any girl in that village (provided she was not too closely related to his mother's relatives).

History of the Clans.—The Katab appear to have come into their present habitat from the direction of Karigi, some fifty miles due north of Zangon Katab, in order to remove themselves further from the slave-raiding expeditions sent out from Zaria. Their traditions suggest that they arrived in small parties, each of which became the starting point of a comparatively large social group which ultimately displaced the Chawai, Kachichere, and Rumada, the former inhabitants of the district. There are grounds for believing that neither of the small clans of Shokwa and Aku belonged to the main body of the Katab immigrants, and it is even asserted that the Shokwa were not immigrants at all but had always lived in their present settlement. For this reason, perhaps, Shokwa are the rain-makers for the tribe, and it is said that Shokwa and his wife, the founders of the clan, rose miraculously out of the Kaduna river. The Aku are said to have sprung out of the ground from the hoofmark made by

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612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief [1] might, however, ask his advice, or [596] in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, [624] there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social [591] functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 36 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.

[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

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(12) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), his wives and children	Alhaki.
(13) Occupied by brother of (3), his wives, children, and brother	Sabo.
(14) The *Obwai* shrine	
(15) Occupied by distant cousin of (1)	Mugu.
(16) Occupied by distant cousin of (1) and children, son, and son's child	Aje.
(17) Occupied by brother of (16), wives and children	Baita.

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(1) Occupied by Banhot (head of the kindred) wife and child	Banhot.
(2) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wives, children, and cousin	Kaza.
(3) Occupied by member of Nje sub-clan, wives, children, son's wives, and children	Go.
(4) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wife, children, and sons wives, and children	Angulu.
(5) Occupied by member of Kagoro tribe, wife, and sons	Agwanjon.
(6) Occupied by distant cousin of (1), wives, children, and son	Sambo.
(7) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, brother, sisters, their husbands and children	Yakok.
(8) Occupied by distant relative of (1), wife, child, and son	Agwanjon.
(9) Occupied by a member of the Awai sub-clan of Aswen and his children	Sambo.
(10) Occupied by a Kpaisa man (Agbat clan)	Alhaki.
(11) Occupied by a man of the Morwa tribe and his wife and children	Atokan.
(12) Occupied by *Obwai* shrine	

The Household.—The size and composition of the Katab household varies according to circumstances. In its simplest form it consists of the small social group of parents and children, such as in England we should describe as a family. It comes into existence when a son marries, leaves his father's compound, farms on his own account and acquires a family of young children. But as sons may not leave their parents' compound unless the father has other sons to look after him, the normal Katab compound consists of a larger group, viz. parents, sons, and daughters, and sons' wives and their children. On the death of the head of the compound two sons may agree to continue to live and farm together, and the household would then consist of a man and his mother, his wives and children, his brother, and his brother's wives and children. Owing, however, to the extensive system of adoption practised by the Katab, the composition of the household may be more complex and include paternal cousins or nephews. The household is then a purely unilateral grouping, i.e. it consists of patrilineal relatives. But there are exceptions; for it is not uncommon for a household to include a sister's son who belongs, of course, to a different clan, and is debarred

836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan 613 frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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According to
Temple, twins are considered lucky. An " unsound " child was drowned, at about the age of four years, " or sometimes later." Children are suckled two years, according to Tremearne, during which time the wife lives apart from her husband: during this period, in the case of the first-born of any union (see *Marriage*, below), the mother resides in her parents' compound, according to Smith; and after its termination, towards the end of the dry season, she prepares beer for the annual *obwai* rites of her father's clan (see *Burial* and *Religious Beliefs*, below).

Initiation

Boys are circumcised at about the age of eight years—whether or not ritually or in groups is not indicated. At about 10 years, apparently in groups, they are initiated into the *obwai* cult: according to Smith, each clan has its own *obwai* priest and shrine; whether any attempt is made to co-ordinate the initiation rites held by the different clans is not stated. Temple describes the initiation rites as follows (after Tremearne): " [The boys] are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed." During the course of their detention, the boys are told that *obwai* is a secret invention to discipline women, according to Smith. Revealing this secret to women was punished with death or banishment before Administration, and is still discouraged, though Smith states that " in 20th century conditions [*obwai*] does not command awe among initiated males, and has lost some former functions."

According to Temple: " The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age. . . ."

As already indicated, there is said to have been no special mark to identify a man who had taken a head, but, according to Tremearne, a man " was not supposed to have attained to the full dignity of manhood until he had killed someone " (see p. 96, above).

Marriage

Smith's analysis of Kagoro marriage is the most detailed available for peoples treated in this volume. An adaptation of his more complete account follows.

In general, marriage among Kagoro conforms very closely to Meek's description of the institution among Katab. Basically, marriage is virilocal, though a couple may share the husband's father's or husband's mother's brother's compound. Polygyny is permitted, that is, a man may support several wives in his compound simultaneously, a woman may have several husbands simultaneously, in fact, but her several husbands always maintain separate compounds in different villages, and there she " visits " them.[84] Marriage contracts may be classified as follows:

(1) Primary: bride is unmarried.[85]

(2) Secondary: bride has been previously married to any man other than (i) a fellow clansman or (ii) one in the *siendi* relationship.[86]

(*a*) By betrothal.

(*b*) By capture.

[84] Smith rejects the term *polyandry* as applying among Kagoro: however, *serial polyandry* seems to this investigator useful and meaningful in this situation, if it is made clear that divorce is not implicit in the term.

[85] *N.B.*, traditionally, no such thing as divorce existed among Kagoro.

[86] As regards marriage in general, relations between Kagoro clans (*kwai*) are classified as *siendi*, or as *nendwang*: a man takes his primary wife or wives from among the previously unmarried girls of clans that are traditionally in the *siendi* relationship with his own clan; he takes secondary wives from among the *wives* of men of clans in the *nendwang* relationship with his own clan and living in another village. (Close examination of Smith's report does not reveal whether women born into the same clan as his own primary wife, when married to men of clans *nendwang* with respect to the man's own clan, are excepted.)

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
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When they are about ten years old boys are initiated in these mysteries. They are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed. 852

They do not marry until they are sixteen or eighteen years of age, their brides being three or four years younger. The procedure is for the suitor to give the girl's father from four to ten thousand cowries when he proposes. If he is accepted he adds one hoe, one goat, one dog and the flesh of another goat to the gift—an average example which varies according to the wealth of the contracting parties. Beer is prepared by his people, and taken on the wedding day to the bride's house, where drinking goes on for from one to ten days. On the first day the mother takes her daughter to the young man's house for a brief visit, and receives a complimentary present of 2,000 cowries or a hoe—later he comes to her house—and on the second day he takes his wife to his own house where she remains. There is intermarriage between certain tribes, *i.e.*, the Attakka, Moroa, Kaje and Katab, but a Kagoro man will prefer a maiden of his own or of the Attakka tribe, because the others refuse to clear grass for the farms. A virgin may only marry during the wet season, after the seed has been sown. At the end of the millet farming she puts on her married woman's costume and her husband celebrates the occasion by killing a dog and eating its head, liver, entrails and legs, while he gives the neck to those that helped him in courtship, and the remainder to his father-in-law. The blood of slaughtered beasts is always eaten, cooked with fat. If the wife is considered satisfactory her husband gives her mother another present. A girl has the right of refusal and can obtain a divorce, subject to her father's consent, for he retains the legal power to persuade her to go back to her husband, to leave him, or to marry her to someone else. He also has the right of possession over her children, unless her husband redeems them by payment of three goats each. This practice has been put down by the British Government.

582 585 [591] [252] [586]

Children are suckled for two or three years. Boys are named by their father and are circumcised, a very old custom. If a child proves unsound before it is about four years old, or sometimes later, it is thought to be a snake and may be thrown into water. Twins are considered very lucky.

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A man's first wife has authority over subsequent wives and may even beat them, a right so fully recognised that, if these latter forget themselves so far as to retaliate, their parents give her beer. The women all eat together, helping themselves with their right hands, for men alone are allowed the use of spoons.

595 [264]